

UNITE THE MANY.....

DEFEAT THE FEW

A STUDY BY THE CHICANO - PUERTO RICAN STUDY GROUP



Movimiento de Liberación Nacional

DISCUSSION DOCUMENT #5

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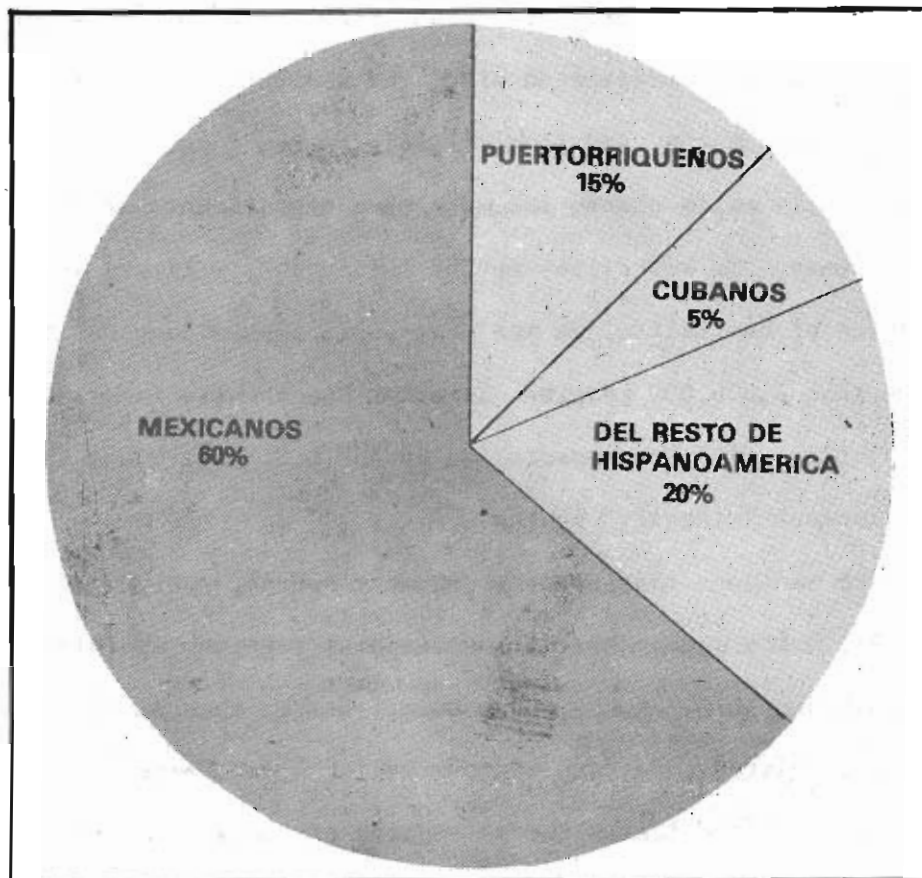
ON THE QUESTION OF CHICANO-PUERTO RICAN UNITY

I. THE BASIS FOR UNITY:

There are 20 million Chicanos and Puerto Ricans in the United States in 1978. Sixteen million Chicanos, documented and undocumented, occupy an area of the South-west from Texas to Washington State, and from California to Wisconsin. Four million Puerto Ricans are concentrated along the eastern portion of the country, from Florida to Massachusetts, and from Illinois to New York. Together, we are present in practically every state, and make up a significant percentage of the people in each county. In key cities to the industrial, military and agricultural production machine of capitalism, we are present in populations ranging from 500,000 to more than 1,000,000 people. Together, we are the fastest growing sector of the population, with the expectation by the U.S. government that by 1985, we will be the largest "minority" in the U.S.

It is no accident that every government census, every piece of literature depicting us, every agency evaluation lumps us together as "hispanics," or as "Spanish-speaking" people. The U.S. government, better than ourselves, recognizes the common bonds of history, culture and oppression which unite Chicano and Puerto Rican people. We are historically the off-spring of Indian, Spanish and African peoples brought together by Spanish imperialism and mixed in the batter of oppression, slavery and poverty. We emerge into history as a mestizo and mulatto people, colonized and victimized by European capitalism. We have a common history of struggle against capitalist and imperialist domination. We have, in the last century, undergone massive immigration and migrations in search of a future for our families. Our lands have been seized by U.S. imperialism, masses of our people dispersed, ghettoized in barrios and small rural communities, and ultimately oppressed and repressed denied our heritage and our human and democratic rights, and ostracized by racism.

We have forged separate struggles against this oppression and repression, separate from each other, but against the same enemy and in the same ways. And today, we are beginning to recognize each other's presence across the North-American continent and wonder how our struggle for liberation would fare if we were UNITED!



Approximate distribution of the latino population in the United States according to a U.S. census in 1970.

II. THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRATIC AND HUMAN RIGHTS:

In 1968, Chicano students across the South-west demonstrated and occupied schools and universities in demands for open admissions, bilingual - bicultural studies, student power, and an end to the War in Viet Nam. In the East and Mid-west, Puerto Rican students were doing exactly the same, in exactly the same areas. But those struggles never came together.

In 1970, housing, health and jobs demonstrations were taking place in the barrios as part of a drive for "community control." But those struggles never came into contact. All these were part of the struggles for Democratic and Human Rights. Some local organizations were born in these fights against the system of oppression; national conferences took place, coordinating bodies were created, and ultimately repression and COINTELPRO put an end to them, temporarily.

Today, Chicano and Puerto Rican struggles are at a low point of mass participation. Armed organizations have sprung up among us in response to repression. But there is no general movement and no organization capable of directing our efforts at liberation. Many people in our communities have returned to apathy and indifference. Some potential leaders have been burned by campaigns against their persons founded on slander, jealousy, falsehood, and government campaigns to isolate them. Many of our people, in fact, seem to feel that the government propaganda to the tune that "things are getting better" is at least partially true, or can be real if only the new administration of President Carter can overcome some minor "problems."

The facts, however, are different. U.S. government statistics, usually watered down to ease the impact on the public, still show enough to indicate to us the extreme situation in which Chicanos and Puerto Ricans live, and in the process to give us a good picture of the general situation we will have to work with if we are going to move on with the struggle for liberation.

These are the facts:

Of the 20 million Chicanos (counting undocumented workers) and Puerto Ricans in the United States, 85.8 per cent are workers, employed, under-employed and unemployed, concentrated mostly in industrial centers (cities) and to a lesser degree in agricultural areas of production. Only 14.2 per cent of all Chicanos and Puerto Ricans can be said to be professionals; officials of small and large businesses, technicians in industry, or managers. Thus, most of our people are working people directly related to production in the capitalist system of industry and agribusiness. Of this labor force, 13.1 per cent of the males, and 12.2 per cent of the women are reported as unemployed (although the unofficial figure is sometimes put as high as 30 per cent), most of them with little likelihood of obtaining a job under present depression conditions and government cutbacks. Of all U.S. workers, as a matter of fact, while 845,000 were no longer looking for work because they had given up hope in 1974, in 1975 that figure had risen to 1.15 million people. If we take into consideration the CETA program of 1976-1978, and the fact that the program is being abolished as part of the Carter "anti-inflation" program, then that figure must have remained the same in those two years (given the growth in the labor force) and will start growing dramatically again. It should be mentioned that after a short period of unemployment, a person is removed from the labor force, making the figures cited above significantly more than the numbers shown.

If in 1976, then, U.S. government figures indicated that 26.7 per cent of all Chicanos and 33.5 per cent of all Puerto Ricans lived below the poverty line of \$5,500 a year income, then the figure must be growing greater in the present year of 1978. But the average income for Chicanos and Puerto Ricans, established at \$10,000 in 1976 was also lower than that for the general population, which was \$15,200.

These figures clearly indicate that conditions for the Chicanos and Puerto Ricans in the Democratic Rights area of jobs have not changed. In fact, the U.S. Civil Rights Commission says that Puerto Ricans are actually worse off at present, than they were before the anti-poverty programs started in 1959. If as is shown in every other set of statistics, the same is true for Chicanos as for Puerto Ricans, with only a small percentage difference, the Chicanos are also worse off at present than they were in 1959.

Thus, War on Poverty, Jobs Opportunities, Chicano and Puerto Rican elected officials, Voter Registration, Common Cause, Training Programs, Open Admissions, Minority Training Opportunities - none of these drives and programs has worked, even though they have created some illusions among our people that the government is providing us with something. To top it all, welfare--that source of survival for so many, is still undergoing newer reorganization schemes with the aim by government to cut down services and eliminate people on welfare rolls.

We can conclude two things from this bleak picture of the jobs struggle and the present situation. One, that whatever minor advances made on a temporary basis by Chicanos and Puerto Ricans, were the result of the intense and often bloody struggles waged by our people in the streets and schools of the country, and at job sites. And two, that whenever the U.S. government succeeded in driving our struggle for jobs into Democratic Party, Republican Party, election politics, and the courts, they undercut the struggle and managed to calm the situation to the point where they felt safe enough to eliminate what little we had gained.

The U.S. today prides itself in providing the best health care for its people. Nowhere in the world, capitalism says, is there a better health system. And yet, the life expectancy for our Chicano and Puerto Rican people is only 56.7 years, as against the average 67 years for all others. The mortality rate for our children is 33 per cent above the national average, and for farmers, it is a low 49 years of life.

The health system in the U.S. is run by a combination of the U.S. government

and the American Medical Association. Together, they use poor people in this country, as well as in Puerto Rico and most recently in Mexico, for medical experiments--testing abortion, birth control methods, new and unsafe drugs, surgery techniques, and medical training for graduate students. Very little has been done to guarantee our democratic rights in this area. On occasion, community organizations have initiated a drive for community control of health services, some clinics of the people have been created, some service centers have sprung up. But by and large our people today are just as bad off as ever, with a high degree of Methadone, alcohol and drug addiction in the barrios, deaths in emergency rooms and at the operating table in hospitals, mis-diagnosed illnesses for which the wrong prescription is given, and long waits to see a doctor in general hospitals across the country. All together, the picture shows a pattern of genocide which contrasts sharply with the treatment and care given to the middle classes, including the rich of the country. The power of the American Medical Association, the Petro Chemical Industry subsidiaries in the Pharmaceutical Corporations, which produce most drugs used at present, and the U.S. government, which regulates health care through laws and regulations, indicates that government health care cannot be fought against through the courts, or by attempting to change existing laws in the legislature. Only mass mobilizations and struggle can bring about a change in the system which would allow us to regulate and enact people's laws.

If jobs, and health, are important to human survival, then housing is essential to human stability and security. In 1976, the U.S. Housing and Urban Development (HUD) agency reported that 10% of general housing in this country was "flawed." But 27.1% of all Puerto Ricans and 18.9% of all Chicanos lived in such housing, much of it either with an inferior heating system, or no heating system at all. Even as the HUD paints this picture of dire depression, its report states that our people, Chicanos and Puerto Ricans, pay more for housing than the rest of the population, and that the larger the Chicano or Puerto Rican family, the worse the housing, the more that family will have to pay.

One of the methods used to justify these conditions, and which makes up part of the capitalist ideology of oppression, is to claim that our people create slums. That our unsanitary habits make for garbage and decay. But this argument falls flat on the basis of evidence. First, our people are victimized by capitalist landlords who exploit our needs--exactng high prices and cutting down on services. In Barrio after Barrio, landlord obligations to repair, provide sanitary facilities, garbage disposal equipment, cleanliness of public areas, and adequate maintenance, are not lived up to. Housing Courts, in the hands of landlord agencies, discriminate against our people; legislatures are filled with landlords and landlord advocates, and the highest laws and courts of the U.S. favor private property and capitalism to such a point that we cannot obtain a decent hearing for our plight.

We are then forced into the worst possible conditions in which human beings can possibly live, and everywhere we turn to the scale is tipped in favor of those who exploit us.

If the jobs, housing, and health situations are bad, then education offers us no escape from the poverty in which Puerto Rican and Chicano working people are caught. We have noted that 1968 saw the beginning of temporarily successful struggles to change the public consciousness about our educational predicament. As a result of sit-ins, occupations, strikes, shut downs and violent confrontation with the repressive army of capitalism, we gained some participation in education, a measure of open admissions, and many promises. However, in time, all of these advances were rolled back. In 1978 we received the death blow to our hopes for change with the infamous BAKKE DECISION, in which the highest court of the capitalist state, the U.S. Supreme Court, decided that one white man could not be "discriminated" against to end discrimination and racism against dozens of millions of oppressed people. In truth, it was not the man Bakke whom we protested against, and it was not Bakke whom the capitalists ruled in favor, but our democratic right to a quality education and a redress of centuries of exploitation and racism that

we fought for and against which capitalism fought, using its oppressive legal system to hand down a ruling.

As a result of the Bakke decision by the capitalist supreme court, colleges and universities across the U.S. are currently cutting back programs for the poor and oppressed people, departments set up to grant our rights to self-identity and pride are being closed, and even work is being denied to us on the basis of Bakke.

To this new wave of denial of our democratic right to education, we should add the statistics of their own census studies. There is an 80% drop out rate from the school system for Chicano and Puerto Rican students in the public schools of America. There is a 40% illiteracy rate, with 20% of the school population of Chicanos and Puerto Ricans achieving less than five full years of instruction. Our schools are run by, and our students are taught by non-Spanish speaking, and non-Chicano and Puerto Rican teachers, with a totally foreign outlook on life, culture and education. This is all the result of a U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) which in its practice shows no concern whatsoever for our people, other than the concern of keeping us as oppressed and deprived as possible.

All of this is happening in 1978, ten years after we began a mass drive for liberation from oppression, racism, and repression. Less than five years after the U.S. government unleashed its fury against our revolutionary organizations with a wave of murder, arson, arrests, imprisonment and discrediting of grass-roots leaders. Only two years after grand juries began a joint attack against the Chicano and Puerto Rican people's first drive for unity, and in the very present, when police departments across the country are implementing a campaign of terror against our communities in an effort to keep us quiet and make us passive to capitalist exploitation.

In these ten years of resistance, struggle and repression, we have seen that only mass struggle advances our cause. But, whenever the capitalists have been able to misdirect that struggle into legalistic channels (the courts, electoral parties, poverty program jobs, and selected repression of our leadership--leaving

alone only those leaders who show a tendency for selling out), then our gains are wiped out. The lesson to be drawn from this ten years of experience are many, and we will sum them up as STRUGGLE, STRUGGLE, and more STRUGGLE, until final and total victory.



III. REPRESSION:

In December, 1976, a U.S. Grand Jury in Chicago, Illinois, the same type of jury used to white-wash governmental and police crimes, called ten people to appear before it and answer questions about the Puerto Rican guerilla organization, Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional (FALN). Two of the ten were Chicanos from Tierra Amarilla, New Mexico. One month later, a companion Grand Jury called a Venezuelan and a Chicana, both women, in New York, to answer questions on the Puerto Rican independence movement. In April, 1977, after 13 persons had been called, the New York Times printed an extensive front page article claiming that a vast "terrorist" network of Chicanos and Puerto Ricans existed in the U.S. from San Diego to New York and from Texas to Illinois. Eventually, 15 people were called before Grand Juries, and nine (5 Puerto Ricans, 3 Chicanos, 1 Venezuelan) were imprisoned. All had refused to tell the government anything about their movement activities, or that of others. The basis for this mass resistance to repression was that information gathered by the government through these "legal" means, would be used against the Chicano and Puerto Rican liberation movements. Those who went to prison to uphold these principles, came out in February and May of 1978, having set an example of unity against repression between Chicanos and Puerto Ricans which has begun to grow beyond themselves, to others throughout the U.S.

But the 1976-1978 Grand Juries, born out of the tactics of repression laid out by Richard Nixon and his gang of White House Criminals shortly after they reached power in 1968, was only a turning point in the struggle between the masses of oppressed people and capitalist oppression and repression. A turning point in that for the first time Chicanos and Puerto Ricans jointly confronted an effort directed at them as a single people, and a turning point in that they won a major victory against their common oppressor by walking out of prison with their principles intact, thereby setting an example for the new struggle ahead.

The last ten years of repression against poor and oppressed people in the U.S., which resulted in the murder of imprisonment of thousands, have been

characterized by brutal genocidal force, and a legalistic repressive campaign. This switch from genocide to legalism and back to genocide was forced on the U.S. public consciousness by the Watergate Scandal. Between 1968 and 1972, U.S. Republican Party fascists in government developed and implemented a number of plans built upon earlier war time programs devised by the Johnson Democratic Party Administration and two of which were termed: RADical Informants Program (RAIP) and COINTELPRO (COunter INTElligence PROgram). These programs involved the CIA, AFT, FBI, Police, Internal Revenue, and many other agencies, in a concerted effort to bribe, discredit, destroy and change the anti-war and liberation movements of oppressed peoples in the U.S. This program resulted in many murders, druggings, beatings, arrests, and discrediting of honest movement leaders and grass roots spokespersons. When Nixon made his bid for total power by seeking to obtain secret information on Democratic Party leaders, and campaign tactics, the resulting scandal and public confrontation between the two capitalist parties temporarily shocked the American people out of their faith in government, and threatened a bitter and divisive struggle within the capitalist class at a time when imperialism was experiencing economic and political crisis. With the weathering of differences, superficial reorganization, new promises to the people, and a facelifting in Washington, D.C., a semblance of normalcy was restored that allowed them to go ahead with the usual capitalist program: repression, oppression, and robbery of the U.S. working people. But with their old tactics discredited and repudiated by the masses of American people, and with a need to adhere strictly to their own legal system of oppression, they placed an emphasis on the courts and Grand Juries. That brief fling with legalism as an instrument, however, was soon seen to be an expensive handicap to repression when compared to the older tactics. With the need to keep the masses of people under control, there was a return to murder, frame-ups and disruptions. The COINTELPRO program has in effect been reinstated, even as they prepare new repressive laws and acts of Congress.

In 1978, with the increasing cuts in jobs, education, housing and other areas

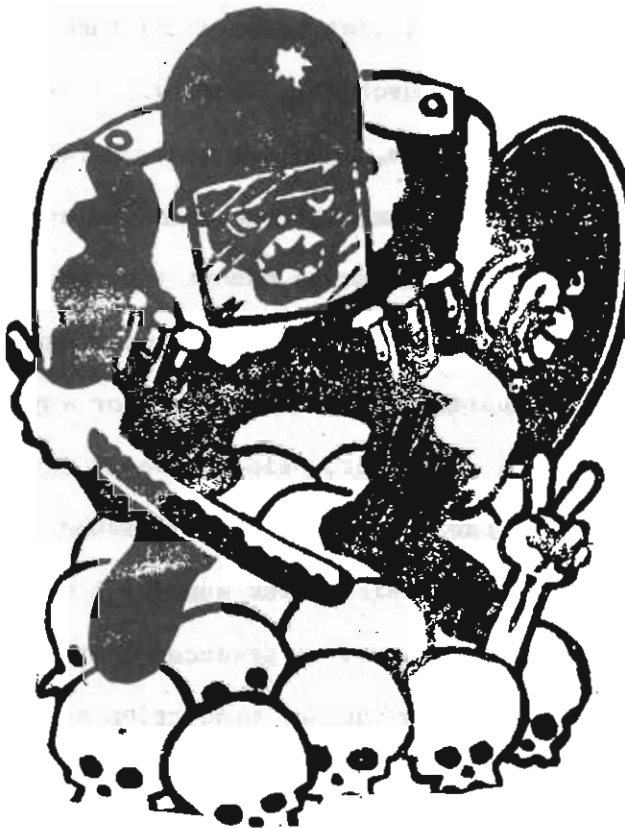
of democratic rights crying for action, the major focus of repression by the U.S. government is against the Human Rights of our people. This repression comes mainly in the form of police terrorism and crimes against poor people. Chicanos and Puerto Ricans are shot and beaten to death not because they participate in demonstrations anymore, but because capitalism needs to instill fear in our people in anticipation of a new movement against oppression, and for our democratic and human rights. Police currently stalk our barrios like Jack-the-Rippers hunting our young men and women, creating a confrontation, and gunning them down, beating them bloody, and leaving a trail of blood as a lesson to our people not to resist U.S. government oppression.

But as police crimes grow, so has Chicano and Puerto Rican resistance. In city after city, our people are taking to the street in protests against police and in demand of Human Rights and justice. These struggles, however, have not had a national and international impact because they are without national unity. As a result of this limitation, capitalism does not see a crisis and will not act to check their police dogs. In 1978, this form of repression is growing to new heights, with more killings and beatings.

A complimentary form of repression are F.B.I. investigations. Today, the F.B.I. is conducting thousands of investigations into Chicano and Puerto Rican people's lives. The justification for these investigations are many. But basically the argument favors "investigating terrorism." The fact is that the more than 86 million files computerized at F.B.I. headquarters cannot provide them with an extensive enough list of the present activism in the movement. In the area of Chicano and Puerto Rican struggle, the F.B.I. finds itself not only lacking numbers, but also accuracy. The investigations are then aimed at establishing exact profiles of our people. Any conversation with, or cooperation with the F.B.I., helps them define the people and the areas where the U.S. government can best achieve repression. The solution we have to this problem is simple: No collaboration with the F.B.I. and other repressive agencies!

Repression breeds struggle; breeds repression, breeds struggle. This is the fundamental truth to everything we have discussed so far. Government oppression of our people, the denial of our democratic and human rights, leads us to the necessity to fight for whatever we can get, and to establish our rights as working people and respect for our masses. The capitalist denial of these rights comes in the way of greater oppression and the release of police criminals and investigators on our barrios. Again, we are forced to fight, this time against the denial of our democratic and human rights, and against the genocide of our people.

Historically, however, our fight has been of limited duration and planning. We react, but we don't act. We plan a campaign against this or that, or for this or that; but we don't envision a long, patient struggle to organize and fight in those areas we choose. This has been the problem, and the solution to this problem will be the key to our successful drive for Democratic and Human Rights, through the total transformation of society.



NO MAS AGRESION!



unity!



IV. THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE:

Oppression and repression, racism, and denial of basic human and democratic rights to Chicanos and Puerto Ricans is not the result of government bureaucracy, racist white workers, lack of bourgeois sensitivity, the whim of elected officials, or an accident. Oppression, repression, racism, and the denial of basic human and democratic rights is a deliberate plan worked out by our capitalist oppressors to maintain and expand the profit capital (dollars) gained from our exploitation as wage earning slaves of corporation and Agri-businesses (farms run by corporations).

To understand the truth of this statement, it is important to realize that imperialism and capitalism flow from each other. Imperialism is the organization of capitalist exploitation of people on a world-wide scale.

When copper, zinc, petroleum, gold, aluminum, sugar cane, bananas, and any other natural resource is ripped out by capitalism, they are taken to a particular place in a particular capitalist country for refinement into particular products. These products are then sold in the local capitalist country and throughout the world, wherever they control the economy of the purchasing country. These products--be they cars, sugar, candies, television sets, pots and pans, gold rings, beer cans, clothing, paper, electrical wire, or whatever, are produced by large corporations using the labor of Chicanos and Puerto Ricans to manufacture the goods out of the natural resources torn from Mexico, Puerto Rico, or any other country, in which the labor used to mine were Puerto Rican and Mexican, or any other. In all cases, the corporation that hired the labor, paid low wages far below the value; but has gained a change in the raw material into a finished product they will sell as a luxury or as a basic necessity. The sum total of all the labor, plus the costs of machinery and energy used to produce, is the sum total of the worth of that product. The lower the cost of production and the higher the cost at wholesale prices, the greater the profit.

This means that both employment and unemployment, wages and wage increases, more production or less production, are controlled by the corporation. The greater the control they have, the greater the capital they will be able to gain. This is what makes them capitalists. Their control of a nation, its laws, its congress, its government, its newspapers and television stations, its police forces, makes of that nation a capitalist nation. But when they organize, as they have done, corporations in dozens of countries; when they run many countries, and when they are able to direct and influence the politics, economy and governments of hundreds of countries, their police forces and armies, then we have imperialism (empire), which is the organization of capitalism on a world scale.

Human exploitation, repression, and denial of rights is carried out on such a world scale. A single country like the United States is able to decide the fate of governments and nations at a meeting behind the walls of the Pentagon, C.I.A. headquarters, the State Department, or the White House with ease. They can, in fact, delegate the same authority to branches of government, to departments, to states, and even to cities to organize the control and repression of Chicanos and Puerto Ricans. We have already demonstrated statistically that they in fact do so!

In 1973, following a major capitalist economic crisis as a result of the defeat of Imperialist expansion into Viet Nam, and the creation of the Petroleum Cartel by nations which had gained a majority control of their petroleum resources, the leading capitalists of Europe, Japan, and the United States met to discuss the changing world situation. The new situation was the demonstration by Viet Nam that the U.S. Armed Forces could be defeated by a united people, in a patient and lengthy war in which the masses of the people could be mobilized to support a national liberation army, and its Revolutionary Party. The U.S. capitalists anticipated that this lesson would encourage revolution everywhere and threaten the imperialist world built over the last 100 years. The result of that meeting of world capitalists was a call made by David Rockefeller to a number of experts on economy, politics, warfare, and civil rights, to come together within a commission

and prepare a new program of world domination. This group, which included four key persons in the present Democratic Party government (Cyrus Vance, secretary of state; Zbigniew Brzezinski, presidential advisor; Andrew Young, United Nations Delegate from the U.S. and former aide to Martin Luther King; and Jimmy Carter, now president of the U.S.), became known as THE TRILATERAL COMMISSION Study Group. The name TRILATERAL COMMISSION was given to the European, Japanese and U.S. capitalists leaders who were to consult periodically and implement the study group's positions.

One such paper produced by the Rockefeller group was the 1980 PROJECT, which called for the stabilization of the imperialist system through "control of the international situation...modifying the behavior of countries and people (including that of Communist Countries)" through diplomacy, selective warfare, counter-intelligence, and the creation of "sub-imperialist countries" which would take on the tasks of becoming the policemen of their part of the world.

This policy has been implemented in various ways already. When freedom fighters rose up against the government of Zaire in West Africa, and threatened to topple a neo-colonial administration there, France, Morocco, Belgium, Israel and South Africa responded with troops, arms, and materials to crush the revolution. In Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), where 250,000 whites run a country of 5 million Africans, The Patriotic Front wages a life and death struggle against the racist regime of Ian Smith, which is supported by Great Britain, the United States and another racist minority regime in South Africa (Azania).

Whenever the Patriotic Front has managed an offensive and seems on the verge of winning broad international support at the United Nations, the U.S. and Britain have called for negotiations and discussions to end the racist regime. But once the discussions are under way and world opinion has been fooled, these same imperialists sabotage the meetings and call for an "internal" solution, thus buying time for the racist regime--time to arm, obtain greater resources to fight the people, and organize their next step. These are examples of the new imperialist

strategy in the world; in the first instance, war; in the second, diplomacy.

But the capitalists also produced another paper, of particular importance to our Chicano and Puerto Rican people. The architect of this paper, called Crisis In Democracy, is Samuel Huntington, one of the leading capitalists in the U.S.

This paper states that there is "an excess of democracy" in the U.S. and warns that a shift against the government by the people in the 1960's created a problem that must be corrected. He says that "previously passive or unorganized groups" such as Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Blacks and Native Americans, pose the greatest problem. The solution to the problem we pose, the paper states, is "to restore order" and the "prestige of government authority." He suggests that government should encourage "apathy and non-involvement" of certain individuals and groups. The paper states that the objective should be to preserve orderly government and "forcing" a return to "a measure of passivity and defeatism."

It is no wonder that police crimes have grown all over the country, and that the F.B.I. runs all over barrios intimidating people! This is government policy, and this is how imperialism works on a world-wide scale--both inside and outside, against all the oppressed people of the world. They recognize no frontiers in their exploitation and repression of our people. The capitalist system is one deliberate plan of world imperialism.

That system, applied to our particular situation as Chicanos and Puerto Ricans, is interwoven and connected in such a way that it reaches the very hearts of our ancestral homelands, Mexico and Puerto Rico.

In a 1974 U.S. Overseas Report on Mexico, the U.S. Commerce Department reports that Mexico, already one of the five major markets for U.S. goods in the world, offers "an important and growing market for U.S. production." Between 1972 and 1973, U.S. exports to Mexico jumped from \$1.982 Billion, to \$2.937 Billion, for an increase in a single year of 48.2%. The U.S. controlled 62.8% of all that Mexico imported. The capitalist exploitation of Mexico, in which the U.S. was the principal partner had brought about a Mexican debt to the U.S., Europe and

Japan of \$30 thousand million in 1978. Given this fact, and the fact that the Mexican government said last month (November, 1978) that its new petroleum discoveries would be used to pay this debt as well as its growing imports, the wealth of Mexico is already compromised to the capitalist countries, and not to the services of the people. Once again we see a case of a nation exporting its natural resources to the imperialist countries of the world.

But Mexico's debt to the U.S. is bound to grow. According to the Saturday Review Magazine for July 8, 1978, the undocumented immigrants fleeing poverty in Mexico and crossing into the United States, provided their impoverished families back home in Mexico with from \$2 to \$3 Billion dollars a year in U.S. dollars, or as much capital as one of the ten industrial giants of this country is able to produce each year as a result of the exploitation and oppression of workers in this country. We know that in times of economic prosperity, capitalists in the U.S. have encouraged an "open border" with Mexico to keep wages down in the U.S. and to allow worker competition for jobs whereby they will pay the lowest possible salary.

But in times of capitalist economic crises, they increase the repressive forces of the Immigration Bureau to keep immigrants out. Today, this policy calls for keeping out the Mexican poor. The U.S., pending the building of a complex wire, cement, and electronic fence on the Rio Bravo (Rio Grande to them), have already increased their surveillance, and recruited the fascist Ku Klux Klan to help patrol. The current claim is that at least one million Mexicans are caught and deported each year. The fencing out of the Mexican people from their ancestral land in Texas, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, California and other states is to be accompanied by a major pipeline from the state of Chiapas on the border with Guatemala to Texas. This is an even bigger enterprise than the Alaskan pipeline project, and will deliver billions of barrels of oil for America's industry, without creating a single job for Chicanos or other people on a permanent basis.

This imperialist relation between the U.S. capitalists and the Mexican

masses of people means that more than ever before the U.S. government will have an interest in the survival of the Mexican government; a government which is composed of the rich and which works in the interest of both the Mexican rich and the U.S. rich.

What impact does this imperialist relation of the U.S. and Mexico have?

One of the major reasons for the inability of the U.S. government to control the Spanish speaking population of the U.S. is the direct infusion of Mexican people and Puerto Rican people into the U.S. Despite 130 years of forced genocide, repression and migration, the Chicano people of the South-west continue to maintain language, culture, and identity as a people. Their proximity to Mexico is one factor, but the greater factor is the continuous wave of Mexicans into the South-west. This continuing trend is also behind the population growth of Chicano people, and their eventually becoming a majority of the peoples in the South-west. To choke off the flow means then, not only a blow to the economy of the families of immigrants back in Mexico, but the strangulation of the Chicano people in the South-west, and their elimination as a major factor in U.S. politics.

There is no question that the future of Mexico and the future of Chicanos is interwoven. Were Mexico to become a Socialist country, the Chicano people would benefit greatly. From the point of struggle, mainly because it would have a sweeping effect on the role of Chicanos in the struggle in the U.S., but from the U.S. perspective, because they would have to listen carefully to the Chicano people's demands for justice--for if they did not, a great army would be raised against them with a safe haven in Mexico.

There are many other benefits concerning changes in Mexico to the Chicano people that must be studied concretely. But it is certain that to be aware of how these struggles affect each other is to be aware of the need to become involved in the struggle against U.S. imperialism--that is, the Anti-imperialist Struggle. The Puerto Rican and Chicano people could have a major impact on what happens in Mexico in the future.

The struggle of the Puerto Rican people in the U.S. for democratic and human rights has historic roots in the struggle for Puerto Rican independence. This makes of the Puerto Rican struggle in the U.S. an anti-imperialist as well as a democratic and human rights struggle. Throughout the last decades of the 19th century, the struggle for Puerto Rican independence was often led and coordinated out of New York City, where a Puerto Rican community existed. When U.S. imperialism declared its war on a dying Spanish empire in 1898, and seized Puerto Rico as a colony by force of arms, Puerto Ricans began to stream into the New York City area. Between 1945 and 1955, 500,000 Puerto Ricans had been forced by poverty and colonialist planning out of the homeland and into the U.S. where they were employed as dishwashers, non-union labor and in factory sweatshops. The Puerto Rican people today have a population of four million people inside this country, distributed over a large area, and with access to Puerto Rico by air and low travel fares. Every significant Puerto Rican struggle for human and democratic rights has been led by advocates of Puerto Rican independence. Puerto Ricans are conscious of U.S. colonialism, which takes out billions of dollars each year from the homeland, while controlling directly every aspect of life. Colonialism in Puerto Rico means that the U.S. controls who comes in and out of the country, who gets a license to do anything, what we buy, what we eat, where we live, whether we work or not, when and how to live and die, the television and radio programs we listen to, our telephone communications, salaries, taxes, and whom we trade with. This is colonialism.

The Puerto Rican struggle for national liberation has always involved, through organization, the Puerto Rican people in the U.S. In 1950, when revolution broke out in Puerto Rico and the U.S. press covered it with a curtain of silence, two Puerto Rican nationalists in the U.S. attacked Washington's presidential quarters at Blair House (the White House was under repair), and broke the silence with their guns.

In 1954, when the colonial government announced, and the U.S. press echoed,

that Puerto Ricans no longer favored independence, Five nationalists attacked the U.S. Congress to put the statement to the lie. Between 1970 and 1978, as the militancy of the Puerto Rican independence struggle has grown at home, Puerto Rican response in the U.S. has matched it, with mass demonstrations and hundreds of bombings against the centers of imperialism controlling the economy of Puerto Rico.

Today the Puerto Rican struggle for liberation in the U.S. cannot be separated from the national liberation struggle at home, even as the Puerto Rican people develop the consciousness that they must unite with oppressed people to bring about a transformation of life in the United States.

In the process of this struggle, by both Chicanos and Puerto Ricans against oppression in the U.S. and imperialism against our original homelands, many links have been forged. We both stand today on the threshold of a unity which could influence the future of America, not only in its internal conditions, but in its external imperial relations. The unity of Puerto Rican and Chicano people is the death blow to U.S. colonialism in Puerto Rico.



GUANICA: Puerto Ricans and Chicanos, symbols of the antiimperialist unity of both peoples. Ricardo Romero and Ricardo Montoya, Alamosa and Denver, Chicanos. - Jose Lopez, Chicago and Juan Antonio Corretjer of Puerto Rico, Puerto Ricans.

V. PUERTO RICAN AND CHICANO PRISONERS OF WAR AND MARTYRS:

In the course of our struggle for democratic and human rights, and against imperialism, many of our comrades have fallen; some have died in confrontations, too many to name, too often to feel shock or dismay. There are the Boulder 7, and Luis Junior Martinez in Colorado; in Mexico over 400 massacred at Tlatelolco; in New York Julio Roldan; in Chicago, Julio Osorio and Rafael Cruz; in Puerto Rico more recently the torture and murders of Juan Rafael Caballero, Arnaldo Dario Rosado and Carlos Soto Arrivi. The blood of our martyrs runs like red rivers wherever our people live.

Because what engages us as oppressed people in struggle against oppressive capitalism is a state of war, we have lost comrades who are presently in U.S. prisons. These comrades caught by the enemy and imprisoned are correctly Prisoners of War and subject to the rules and regulations signed by all the major countries of the world on the conduct of war and called The Geneva Convention on the Treatment of Prisoners of War, which in the course of defining the conduct of adversaries in war, specifically lays down regulations on how prisoners of war should be treated.

U.S. capitalists refuse to recognize the status of prisoners of war, as well as the category of political prisoners, and even have refused to sign the United Nations Convention on Human Rights. But their refusal does not deny the fact that the majority of the nations of the world recognize such status for prisoners.

There are Seven Puerto Ricans today whom we consider prisoners of war. These are the four nationalists still in prison for the armed attacks of 1950 and 1954, who are the oldest such prisoners in U.S. jails. They are: Lolita Lebron, Irving Flores, Rafael Cancel Miranda (1954), and Oscar Collazo (1950). In 1978, three new prisoners of war were added: William Morales, wounded in a bomb explosion in New York and whom police link with the F.A.L.N., and Nydia Ester Cuevas and Pablo Marcano, two young Puerto Ricans who on July 4, 1978, took over the Chilean Consulate in Puerto Rico and held the consul until U.S. Attorney General

Griffin Bell publicly repudiated a July 4th Independence Day Parade organized by the colonialists in San Juan. They also demanded the release of the Four Nationalist prisoners.

In all seven cases, the U.S. system has accused them of war actions, but has proceeded to try them under their criminal laws. In the case of William Morales, he is still to be tried. He has been tortured and denied medical care for his wounds. Both the state and the Federal government want to try him separately for the same charges. A major defense campaign is under way for this hero of the Puerto Rican National Liberation struggle.

Political prisoners are defined on the basis of a resistance of conscience, as in the case of those who have been imprisoned by political Grand Juries; and those who have been charged in relation to demonstrations for human and democratic rights. There are many prisoners who can be called political prisoners. One of the major tasks within the Chicano-Puerto Rican movement is to define further who are prisoners of which category, and to advance the release of prisoners of war on a mass international level.

**FREE THE PUERTO
RICAN**



VI. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION:

Out of the schematic evaluation presented here, and taking into consideration the statistical information available to us, several things are evident.

There is no significant difference in the degree to which Puerto Ricans and Chicanos have been denied their democratic and human rights, an area of major concern to all of our working people.

Given our geographic location (Puerto Ricans in the East and Chicanos in the West), we need unity in order to forge a national movement of great impact. What lends itself to this unity are a number of subjective factors, such as a common language, history and culture, as well as inhabiting a common land area (the U.S.).

We have anti-imperialist interests which should complement each other in a common plan of action and organization.

Our prisoners of war and political prisoners should be supported on a national and international scale only achievable through unity of action.

To achieve these, the proper structures should be initiated, and the proper studies made to determine our focus of organization as well as the methods. For example, questions such as whom to organize (when 85.8 per cent of our people are workers). What is the role, for or against us, of the 14.2 per cent of Chicanos and Puerto Ricans who are benefiting from the system? What should we do about the 13 to 30 per cent unemployed? What about the student movement--what are the priorities in this area?

What should we do about the question of Immigration, given the realities? What about the National Questions? Does Aztlan exist?

The answers to these, and such other questions as relations to other struggles lie in our grasp, here and now! We have the intelligence and resources to produce a movement for the 1980's that will take us further and may even see the accomplishment of our objectives.

We need a Chicano-Puerto Rican Commission to bring it all about.

The Present is Struggle, the future is ours!

(THIS PAPER HAS BEEN PRODUCED BY THE CHICANO-PUERTO RICAN STUDY GROUP OF THE
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Chicanos and Puerto Ricans commemorate Los Seis
in Boulder, Colorado, May, 1978.

GRITO DE DOLORES

MEXICO Sept 16 1810



GRITO DE LARES

PUERTO
RICO



SEPT. 23. 1868